A

DISSUASION

FROM THE

Slave-Trade.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A

DISSUASION

TO

GREAT-BRITAIN

AND THE

COLONIES,

FROM THE

SLAVE-TRADE TO AFRICA;

Shewing the Injuſtice thereof, &c.

REVISED and ABRIDGED.

BY

JAMES SWAN.

BOSTON:

Printed for J. GREENLEAF, at the New PRINTING-OFFICE, in Hanover-ſtreet. 1773.

A DISSUASION

TO

GREAT-BRITAIN

AND THE

COLONY

OF

SLAVE-TRADE TO AFRICA.

Shewing the Injustice thereof, &c.

Revised and Abridged.

BY

JAMES SWAN.

BOSTON:

Printed for I. CRANCH & T. BEDLE, at the New Printing-Office, in Marlborough-Street. 1773.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

Dedication

To

His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR,

The Honorable

His MAJESTY *Council*,

And the Houſe of *Repreſentatives*

Of the Province of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*,

In NEW-ENGLAND.

HOWEVER preſuming it may be in me to addreſs you in this manner, who are the legiſlative body of this province; yet I dare ſay you will excuſe it, when you recollect a common ſaying, that nothing protects a Scotſman, but his impudence, *&c.* and I am urged to it by hearing that your Excellency and a majority of both houſes, are inclined to relieve in one degree or other the moſt dejected part of our ſpecies, from a ſlavery that is realy odious in the eyes of every true Britiſh ſubject.

I SHALL not enter in this place, upon enumerating the arguments which I might uſe to ſupport the eligibility and legallity of giving the Negroes a proper redreſs, both in a chriſtian and political light, and the utility of ſuch a meaſure being ſpeedily entered into: Theſe have been diſcuſs'd with greater elegance than I pretend to, by gentlemen, whoſe endeavours and pains, have rendered them valuable to their country, in trying to obtain that ſuccour, which they, with all ſerious well thinking people, conceived to be the inherent right of all mankind.

I do not mean to lengthen out this Dedication, or the Preface and Diſſuaſion following it, as was done in the former edition, with more than enough of canting ſtyle; But be as laconick as poſſible; that reſoluſion neceſſarily obliged me to ſay, that I now ſhelter this Diſſuaſion under your wings; and at the enſuing Seſſion I expect at leaſt a finiſhing of what was begun in the laſt, of ſtopping a further importa-

tion of Negroes into this province; and you may do as much more for the relief of thoſe that are here, as you, in your great wiſdom, ſhall ſee meet.—Think they are men poſſeſſed of reaſonable ſouls; that we were all upon a level in the beginning; and what right we have to keep them in their preſent ſituation,---then I am pretty well ſatisfied you will give them the relief they want, and which I moſt ardently wiſh for.

I am with all becoming reſpect

Your moſt obedient

Humble ſervant,

JAMES SWAN.

BOSTON, *April*, 1773.

THE

Preface.

EVER ſince the appearance, or public exiſtance of the former edition of this pamphlet, have I repented with a truly contrite heart, at my prefixing my name to it; and not being able to pay a neceſſary attention to the correction; however I was in this particular, what is ſaid to belong to the Scots nation in general, *wiſe behind the hand, i. e.* wiſe too late. I ſay, ever ſince, all that is within me have yearned at the bad luck I met with, in attempting a publication, without having time to correct it; and in leaving it to a gentleman whoſe employment neceſſarily demanded his abſence from town: But the inaccuracy has been apologized for, in a genteel, true and modeſt way, by a perſon who publiſhed ſome time ſince the *Appendix*, &c. to whom, be who

he may, I return my thanks in this public manner; hoping he will meet with a reward in some future day, or after world if he does not in this.

I OFTEN times think to myself what motives urged; what impulse drove me; or what principle actuated me, to write it after the form of a sermon, and puting it in the hacknied style of the clergy----the----Scots----and----I mean, or what others you please: However to make an amend to the ministers (them I always put first)---laity---Negroes and all persons whatever, that have happened to read it in that mould; I have altered, defaced, abridged and added, as you will see by looking over the few sheets that follow this preface; and I think, to say the very least, and at the same time the most, concerning it, these meliorations are much for the better.

I SHALL make no apology for troubling the public, further than this edition appears in the world, at the earnest desire of the Negroes in Boston, in order to answer the purpose of sending a copy to each town. Nothing but an in-

clination to granting their requeſt, and that I hope every town will be actuated to give their Repreſentatives inſtructions, in imitation of that well diſpoſed one Medford, who in the laſt ſeſſion directed their member to "uſe his utmoſt influence to have a final period "put to that moſt cruel, inhuman and "unchriſtian practice, the ſlave-trade." Theſe motives have worked upon me ſo much as to venture myſelf a ſecond time to the cenſure or applauſe of the world.

FAVOR me with one thing reader, and I will grant you fifty; that is, to read this Diſſuaſion with an unprejudiced mind; and remember, with not one itching of a critic; for as ſure as you do, down falls the fabric, and cruſhed is the whole edifice, I mean the ſtyle and manner of expreſſion, &c. not the arguments. And I have juſt to obſerve, that if this meets with but half the ſucceſs I wiſh for, in redreſſing the ſhoking ſtate in which the Negroes are held, I ſhall be a thouſand times rewarded.

J. S.

A

DISSUASION, &c.

THE ſubject of which theſe few ſheets treat, would have been one of the laſt I ſhould have ventured upon, had not the deluſion of the men who are concerned in enſlaving the people called *Negroes* appeared ſo glaring, and the contradiction that the *ſlave-trade* bears to chriſtianity, prompted me to it.

I SHALL be as cool and impartial in treating of this matter as any perſon living in a land of liberty can: But, in caſe any thing ſhould be mentioned in the ſequel that may give unintended offence to any perſon, I hope the tender feelings for theſe diſtreſſed captives which is interwoven in my heart,

and an uninterniting desire that lodges in my breast, to have this trade abolished, will be sufficient excuse.

It is for those, who are in a state of bondage to discribe the dread horrors, the tearing anguish, and the direful pains that alternately seize them when thinking, of their being among people who boast of their liberties, and at same time act repugnant to the spirit of their constitution in keeping in slavery thousands of blacks, when they know it is also derogatory to the principles of christianity, and society. Under the mosaic law that person who, *stole* another, and *sold* him, was to be *punished* with *death*. And it most certainly can be looked upon in no other light in the merchants who are in the trade to *Africa*, than stealing of men, being accessary to, and aiding in inciting them to war one with another and for this purpose, supplying them with arms and ammunition, whereby they are hurried into confusion, bloodshed, and all the extremities of temporal misery, which must consequently beget in their minds such a general

deteſtation and ſcorn of the chriſtian name, as may deeply affect, if not wholly preclude, their belief of the great truths of our holy religion. Thus an inſatiable deſire of gain prevails with their kings, who, inſtead of being protectors of their people, for this alluring bait laid before them, by the *European* and *American* factors, and ſhip-maſters, invade the liberties of theſe unhappy people, and occaſion their oppreſſion. The kings, when they want goods ſend to the ſhip-maſters, acquainting them they have Negroes, and ſometimes the factors and ſhip-maſters ſend to inform them, that they have a quantity of goods, and want ſlaves for the ſame. Theſe chiefs, whether they have ſlaves then or not, agree, and immediately go to war with their neighbours and make ſuch havock in burning towns and the devaſtation of war, as really ſhocks human nature, which appears by the following extract from a ſurgeon's journal in a *Liverpool* veſſel.

Seſtro, December 29, 1724.

"NO trade to-day, though many "traders came on board; they inform

"us, that the people are gone to war within land, and will bring priſoners enough in two or three days; in hopes of which we ſtay.

"30th. No trade yet; but our traders came on board to-day and informed us the people had burnt four towns, ſo that to-morrow we expect ſlaves enough.

"31ſt. FAIR weather, but no trade yet; we ſee each night towns burning; but we hear the *Seſtro* men are many of them killed by the inland Negroes, ſo that we fear this war will be unſucceſsful.

"THE 2d of *January*. Laſt night we ſaw a prodigious fire break out about eleven o'clock, and this morning ſaw the town of *Seſtro* burn down to the ground, (it contained ſome hundred houſes) ſo that we find their enemies are too hard for them at preſent; conſequently our trade ſpoiled here, ſo that about ſeven o'clock we weighed anchor, as did alſo the three other veſſels, to proceed lower down."

HERE follows another relation taken from an original journal of a surgeon who sailed out of *New-York*,

"Being on the coast of *Guinea* at a "place called *Basalia*, the commander "of the vessel, according to custom, "sent a person on shore, with a pre- "sent to the King, acquainting him "with his arrival, and informing him "they wanted a cargo of slaves. The "King promised to furnish them, and "in order to do it, set out to war "against his enemies; designing also "to surprise some town, and take all "the people prisoners: Some time af- "ter, the King sent them word, he had "not met with the desired success, "having been twice repulsed in at- "tempting to break up two towns; "but that he still hoped to procure a "number of slaves for them, and in "this design persisted, until he met his "enemies in the field, where a battle "was fought, which lasted three days, "during which time, the engagment "was so bloody that four thousand five "hundred men were slain on the spot. "Think (says he) what a pitiful sight

"it was to see the widows weeping "over their loſt huſbands, orphans "deploring the loſs of their fathers *&c.*" Oh! ſhocking phenomenon, four or five thouſand people killed, for no other cauſe than that our very humane, and chriſtianized merchants, *&c.* want three or four hundred priſoners to make ſlaves of.

IT is a practiſed cuſtom among the factors who reſide in *Africa*, and the ſhip-maſters who trade thither, to corrupt many negroes on the ſea coaſt, who ſtop at no act of cruelty for gain. They eſteem it heroic, to kidnap abundance of little blacks of both ſexes, when found on the roads or in the fields, where their parents keep them all day to watch the corn, *&c.* If any perſon ſhould preſume to ſay, that the *Africans* are not ſtolen, and that it is not direct ſtealth in the ſhip-maſters, I ſhould think he would deſerve to be laughed at; becauſe, if they did not go there and entice the chiefs with money or goods, there would be no wars, as is the caſe at preſent; and there would be none ſtolen if the ſteal-

ers were not bribed by the factors or ſhip-maſters; and beſide thoſe that are made ſlaves of, there would be ten thouſand others who are killed in the broils, that would be ſaved, were they to diſcontinue this unhumane trade.

It may be ſaid they pay for them. I anſwer, they give money or goods by way of price to ſome of the princes and Negroes, who, for lucres ſake take them priſoners by war or ſtealth, ſo that what money they give thoſe more than brutal men, who take them in theſe ways cannot be looked upon as a price paid in lieu, for the perſons themſelves never conſented to be mancipated, as they get none of the money that is pretendedly given for them. They at length arrive at the port, the ſhip-maſters ſell them at a moſt exorbitant profit, and in a few voyages he makes what he calls his fortune; this is all he aimed at, and wiſhed for; and what follows, but his eternal deſtruction, unleſs timely repented of: For the truth of this, I could mention very ſtriking inſtances of men, whoſe

principles are as vicious as their actions, and who I ſee almoſt every day.

To ſay more as to their being ſtolen would be needleſs, becauſe it is clear that they are ſo in every ſenſe it can be underſtood; and it is not, nor can be denied that they ſell them, ſo that they who practiſe theſe laudable branches of man-ſtealing and ſelling can expect nothing but the penalties of GOD's laws, which he, in his own time, will inflict, ſince man! indolent baſe degenerate man! will not puniſh them with death, as warranted ſufficiently by the eternal decrees of heaven.

IN regard to the barbarous uſage theſe unhappy people meet with from the ſhip-maſters in their paſſage from *Africa*. After they have got them on board ſhackled two and two together, they keep them confined below all the paſſage, never permitting more than two on deck at a time to take one breath of freſh air, the moſt common bleſſing we enjoy, conſcious that they are doing them wrong, and not certain but the juſt wrath of GOD might raiſe them againſt the ſhip-maſter and

his crew, ſhould they ſeek and embrace the firſt opportunity to retrieve that liberty which they had in their own country, and which they ought to enjoy by laws divine and human.

FURTHER, the following caſe is mentioned in *Aſtley's* collection of voyages, by *John Atkins*, ſurgeon on board Admiral *Ogles*'s ſquadron, "Of "one *Harding*, maſter of a veſſel, in "which ſeveral of the man-ſlaves and "a woman-ſlave had attempted to riſe "in order to recover their liberty; "ſome of whom the maſter of his own "authority ſentenced to cruel deaths, "making them firſt eat the heart and "liver of one of thoſe he killed. The "woman he hoiſted by the thumbs, "whiped, and flaſhed with knives be-"fore other ſlaves, until ſhe died." Moſt unparralelled cruelty! Human nature is aghaſt at ſuch barbarity!

NEXT is an account by a ſhip-maſter who brought a cargo of ſlaves to *Barbadoes*, upon being aſked the ſucceſs of his voyage, anſwered, "That he had found it "a difficult matter to ſet the Negroes a "fighting with each other in order to

"procure the number he wanted." "But when he had obtained his end, "having filled his veſſel with ſlaves, a "new difficulty aroſe from their refu- "ſal to take food: Thoſe deſperate "creatures chuſing rather to die with "hunger than to be carried from their "native country." Upon a further enquiry how he got them to forego this deſperate reſolution, he anſwered, "That he obliged all the Negroes to "come on deck, where they perſiſting "in their reſolution of not taking food, "he cauſed his ſailors to lay hold on "one of the moſt obſtinate, who chop- "ped the poor creature into ſmall "pieces, forcing ſome of the others to "eat a part of the mangled body; "ſwearing to the ſurvivers, that he "would uſe them all, one after the "other, in the ſame manner if they did "not conſent to eat." This horrid execution he applauded as a good act, it having had the deſired effect. "As deteſtable and ſhocking as theſe uſages to the poor Negroes may appear, it will not be ſtrange to thoſe who have been concerned or employed in the trade."

It is mentioned in ſcripture concerning the puniſhment of man ſtealing, &c. *If the perſon ſtolen be found in his hands, he ſurely ſhall be put to death.* If either the laws of God or man, were to be put in execution, the ſtealer, and buyer too, would be puniſhed with death, for it is equally clear as to both, in the moſaic inſtitutions. It is moſt abſurd, for any perſon to alledge they bought them, for no money can be equal to the worth of a man: And it is a poor juſtification to ſay, that they purchaſed the Negroes with a price tantamount to their value; for as there are no laws, either of Heaven or nations authorizing the buying and ſtealing of *Africans*, I am inclined to think it cannot be ſuppoſed, but the leaſt they deſerve is death: And the man who buys them, is full as culpable as the ſtealer, and liable to the ſame puniſhment, for it is expreſſly written, *If he be found in his hands, he ſurely ſhall be put to death.*

When *Moſes* in his code of laws is ſpeaking relative to ſeven years ſervice, moſt poſſitively ſays, *That if an*

Hebrew *ſervant be ſold unto thee*, and as I conceive if you buy him, *he ſhall ſerve thee ſix years, and the ſeventh, thou ſhall let him go free from thee, and ſhall furniſh him liberally with what he hath. Thou ſhall not let him go away empty. Thou ſhall furniſh him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and of thy wine preſs; of that wherewith the* LORD *thy* GOD *hath bleſſed thee, thou ſhalt give him. This is in token that thou doſt acknowledge the benefit that thou haſt received by his labours.* THIS I hope will make ſuch impreſſions upon the minds of men, that they will not bind a ſervant to ſerve above ſix years; but will ſet him at liberty in the ſeventh, and give him liberally of what the LORD hath bleſſed them with in complyance with the divine command.

THE practice of making ſlaves of our brethren is likewiſe againſt the law of nature, which teaches us, that *whatſoever we would that men ſhould do unto us, we ſhould do even ſo to them.* Would any perſon conſent to be torn from his friends and native country, and be made a ſlave for life, and to have his

children continue in the ſame condition from one generation to another? "Bring the matter home to yourſelves, and think whether any condition in life can be more completely miſerable than that of thoſe diſtreſſed captives. On reflecting, that each of them had ſome tender attachments which were broke by the cruel ſeparation! ſome parent or wife who had not an opportunity of mingling tears in a parting embrace! perhaps ſome infant or aged parent whom his labour was to feed, and vigilance protect! and himſelf under the dreadful apprehenſions of perpetual ſlavery."

THE crimes attending the ſlave trade are greatly aggravated by the extreme cruel uſage the Negroes meet with in the plantations, as well with regard to food and cloathing as the hard and unreaſonable labour that is exacted from them, and what cannot be forgot, the ſevere chaſtiſement they frequently ſuffer, which is bounded by the wrath and pleaſure of their hard taſk-maſters.

As to their food: In *Barbadoes*, * &c. "three quarts of corn and three herrings are a weeks allowance for a working ſlave; and it is mentioned in the ſyſtem of geography, that in *Jamaica* the owners of the Negro ſlaves ſet aſide for each, a piece of ground, and allow them ſundays to cultivate it, the produce of which with a few ſalt herrings or other ſalt fiſh is all that is allowed for their ſupport. In *Virginia* they do the ſame. As to their cloathing. In the Iſlands, the allowance for a ſlave's cloathing is ſeldom more than ſix yards of oznabrigs a year, and in the ſouthern colonies, where the piercing weſterly winds are long and ſenſibly felt, theſe poor *Africans* ſuffer much for the want of ſufficient cloathing; indeed, ſhocking to relate! ſome of them are obli-

* It is ſuppoſed eighty thouſand Negroes are upon the iſlands of *Barbodoes*, and yet through the hard labour they exact of theſe poor creatures, and what of them are killed through their barbarous chaſtiſements, a decreaſe is made of five thouſand ſlaves yearly, which they are reſupplied with from *Africa*. One may form an idea from this, of what an additional ſupply moſt of the *Weſt-India iſlands* and ſouthern provinces need, for there is not one of them but what do import a conſiderable number of ſlaves annually, to keep up their common ſtock.

ged to work moſt of the night in boiling-houſes, notwithſtanding the hard days work they have performed. If they are detected in taking any thing from the plantation they belong to, which they have ſo hardly laboured for, they are cruelly whiped." "The "taſk-maſters (to uſe the words of Mr. "*Whitefield*) by their inhumane uſage "and unrelenting ſcourges have "ploughed their backs and made long "furrows; and at length brought them "even to death." When ſpeaking of their cloathing and food, he adds, "When paſſing along I have viewed "your plantations cleared and cultivated, many ſpacious houſes built "and the owners of them faring ſumptuouſly every day. My blood run "cold within me to conſider how many "of your ſlaves had neither convenient food to eat or proper raiment to "put on, notwithſtanding many of "the comforts you enjoy were ſolely "owing to their indefatigable labours." It is aſtoniſhing how a people who ſo much value themſelves upon their freedom can continue in the practice of ſo

much oppreſſion. Will not the groans of this afflicted and miſerable people reach Heaven? when the cup of iniquity is filled, the unavoidable tendency muſt be, the pouring forth of GOD's judgments upon the oppreſſors.

I HOPE this ſhort narrative, for great part of which I am indebted to Mr. *Benezet*, will raiſe in every breaſt an utter deteſtation and abhorrence of the horrid cuſtoms and ſavage uſage in the Iſlands and Colonies abovementioned, and I make no doubt but every one will ſee, *they do not to theſe Negroes, as they would they ſhould do to them.*

THE charter of this province granted by King *William* and Queen *Mary*, dated at *Weſtminſter*, the 7th. of *October*, in the 3d. year of their reign, *inter alia*, eſtabliſheth and ordains, *That all and every of the ſubjects of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, which go to and inhabit within our ſaid province and territory, and every of their children which ſhall happen to be born there, or on the ſeas in going thither, or returning from thence, ſhall have and enjoy all* liberties *and immunities of* free *and natural ſubjects within the dominions of us, our*

heirs and ſucceſſors, to all intents, conſtructions, and purpoſes whatſoever, as if they and every of them were born within our realm of England.

We are complaining daily that our liberties are wreſted from us, and little think how we deprive theſe poor black people of their freedom, when there is as little reaſon for it as there is for making ſlaves of *Britiſh* ſubjects: As appears plainly, from the foregoing clauſe in the charter. I hope means will be uſed by the legiſlature of moſt, if not all the provinces of *North-America*, totally prohibiting the importation of Negroes, and ſetting at liberty thoſe who are now in bondage, which will be an honor to human nature. The cruelty of forcing the *Africans* from their own country, appears the more glaring when we conſider as Mr. *Poſtlethwait* obſerves, that Its ſituation for commerce is certainly beyond any of the other quarters of the world, being in the center, and has thereby a much nearer communication with *Europe*, *Aſia* and *America*, than any other quarter has with the reſt. It is wonderfully accommodated for com-

merce by the interpoſition of iſlands, and more particularly by the aſſiſtance of the trade winds, which render the the navigation ſafe, eaſy, and conſtant. It is furniſhed with the greateſt and moſt convenient navigable rivers, ſuch as the *Nile*, *Nubia*, *Natal*, which are rivers of the firſt magnitude; beſides theſe there are many others, well ſituated for nevigation and commerce, and which by their noble courſes penetrate far inland; if the *Europeans*, *&c.* would cultivate a humane and chriſtian like commerce with the *Africans*, they might through theſe rivers, become the medium of an endleſs beneficial commerce. The country is populous beyond credibility, the ſoil fruitful, the ſeaſon for the greateſt part, mild and clement, and the air ſalubrious.

THE diſadvantages to *Africa* in taking ſo many of its natives away yearly, are. 1ſt. Its depopulation, which prevents the inland country, where the inceſſant broils are carried on, from defending themſelves againſt the attacks and encroachments made on their properties by the Kings and Chiefs, whereby many

thouſands of their ſubjects being taken priſoners, are ſold; and further, in conſequence of this, depriving them of the means of defence. 2d. It obſtructs the civilizing thoſe people, and conſequently the propagating amongſt them the chriſtian religion, and extending the trade into the bowels of *Africa*. 3d. It prevents the introducing arts and ſciences amongſt them, and the carrying a friendly, civil and chriſtian commerce into the heart of their region. It is an abſolute fact, that theſe people are inceſſently at war with their neighbouring Princes ſo that they cannot get their buſineſs followed, which is a great hinderance to the manufacturing ſuch quantities of their country's produce of every kind as they might do, were this trade aboliſhed, and the rulers in friendſhip with each other.

THE ſlave trade has ſo engroſſed the attention of thoſe men that traffick to *Africa*, that they never once think of ſuch commodities as *Europe* might conſume, *viz.* gums, ivory, gold, ſilver, *&c.* and to reſign that baſe trade, man-ſelling.

But ſome may aſk, if we aboliſh this trade where ſhall we get labourers? the anſwer is at hand. *Europe* in general affords numbers of poor and diſtreſſed objects for that purpoſe. The advantages that would ariſe to *Africa* in aboliſhing this inhumane commerce are numerous. 1ſt. It would be a means of peopling that country, and of cultivating it, ſo as to render it capable of bearing in as great abundance as the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſpices of equal quality to thoſe of *Banda*, *Ternate* and *Amboyna*; which might be produced on the rich ſhores of *Melinda* on the eaſt, or of the ſlave coaſt on the weſt ſide of *Africa*, and that as eaſy and to as great advantage, as where they are now raiſed, the latitude being the ſame, and ſoil not unlike; and, in ſhort, cinnamon and all other productions of *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, by proper management might be raiſed here as well as in thoſe parts. 2d. It would introduce the chriſtian religion among them, which is a ſhame to thoſe nations who pretend to be influenced by the principles of chriſtianity, to keep ſo long hid, and of conſequence, be a

means of bringing among them the more civilized arts and ſciences. 3d. It will recommend the *European* dreſs, and introduce their cuſtoms among the natives, and of courſe civilize them like other chriſtian nations. Laſtly, It will be a means of bringing this country to as great perfection in trade, riches, and grandeur, as any in *Europe*, it being a much more fertile ſoil for many valuable productions.

THE advantages that would ariſe to *Europe* in this trade even in its preſent ſtate, excluding that of the ſlaves, is very great; for which there is in return, gold, elephant's-teeth, wax, gums, cotton-wool and divers dying-woods. Theſe are articles which the country abound in, and would be ſtill cheaper to an immenſe degree, were the inland parts ſettled with their own people. *Britain* pays but little for the commodities it exports to *Africa*, being moſtly, as obſerved before, its own produce, ſuch as worſted and cotton cloths of all kinds, braſs, iron and copper work of every ſort, particularly large quantities of all kinds of defenſive

arms, with powder and ſhot in proportion. It is the intereſt of every merchant in *Britain* and the plantations who are now concerned in traffick to *Africa*, to cultivate the inland commerce in its utmoſt extent; there being the greateſt reaſon to believe, that where they now export twenty ſhillings worth of commodities thither, they would then export an hundred pound: The government at home are aware of theſe advantages, and have granted an annual ſum of ten thouſand pounds ſterling for the maintaining and upholding the forts and caſtles in the *Britiſh* ſettlements in *Africa*, ſo that they are entirely defended againſt the attacks of any enemy, and their trade ſecured by forts and caſtles. A great deal more could be mentioned on the advantages that may ariſe to *Britain* and the plantations in aboliſhing this wicked trade: However, I ſhall conclude with ſome ſhort admonitions to thoſe concerned, and propoſe a method to put this trade to *Africa* upon a juſt and lawful footing.- - - - - - - - I adviſe every merchant who is in this trade of manſlaving to renounce and give it up. Why ſhould any perſon incur the penalties

of GOD's law for the ſake of gain? Were they on a death-bed, what agonies and troubles of mind muſt they undergo upon the reflection----of having enſlaved ſo many miſerable creatures and cauſing thouſand more to periſh in the wars they occaſion; ſurely the judgment of GOD muſt come upon ſuch men who will thus uſe their own brethren born to inherit the ſame ſalvation with them. Mr. *Whitefield* in a letter to the inhabitants of *Virginia*, *&c.* ſaith, "We have "a remarkable inſtance of GOD's taking "cognizance of, and avenging the quarrel "of poor ſlaves, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 1. There "was a famine in the days of *David*, three "years, year after year, and *David* enquired of the LORD, and the LORD anſwered, it is for *Saul*, and his bloody houſe, "becauſe he ſlew the *Gibeonites*. Two "things are here very remarkable, 1ſt. "Theſe *Gibeonites* were only hewers of "wood and drawers of water; or in other "words, ſlaves like yours. 2d. That this "plague was ſent by GOD many years after the injury (the cauſe of the plague) "was committed. And for what end "were this and ſuch like examples recorded in holy Scriptures? Without doubt

"for our learning. For GOD is the ſame "to-day as he was yeſterday, and will "continue the ſame for ever. He does not "reject the prayer of the poor and deſti-"tute, nor diſregard the cry of the mean-"eſt Negro." When ſpeaking of the op-preſſion and unchriſtian uſage theſe diſtreſ-ed people meet with from the ſhip-maſ-ters in their paſſage, and from the maſters they are ſold to in the ſouth parts of *Ame-rica* and the *Weſt-Indies*, he adds, "The "blood of the Negroes ſpilt for theſe many "years in your reſpective provinces will "riſe up to Heaven againſt you." - - - Per-tinent to my ſubject are the following queſtions of Mr. *Poſtlethwayt*.

1ſt. "WHETHER the people of this country notwithſtanding their colour, are not capable of being civilized and brought into the chriſtian religion, as well as great numbers of the *Indians* of *America* and *Aſia* have been; and whether the primitive inhabitants of all countries ſo far as we have been able to trace them, were not once as ſavage and inhuman as the people in *Africa*, and whether the ancient *Britons* themſelves of our country were not once upon a level with the *Africans*? - - - -

2d. "Whether therefore, there is not

a probability that thoſe people might in time, by proper management in the *Europeans*, become as wiſe, as induſtrious, as humane, and as good chriſtians, as the people of any other country ? - - - - - 3d. "Whether their rational faculties are not in general equal to thoſe of any other of the human ſpecies ; and whether they are not, from experience, as capable for mechanical and manufactural arts and trades, as even the bulk of the *Europeans* ? - - - 4th. "Whether it would not be more to the intereſt of all the *European* nations concerned in the trade to *Africa*, rather to endeavour to cultivate a friendly and humane commerce with theſe people, into the very center of their extended country, than to content themſelves only with ſkimming a trifling portion of trade upon the coaſt of *Africa* ? - - - - - 5th. "Whether the greateſt hinderance and obſtruction to the *European*'s cultivating a chriſtian-like and humane commerce with thoſe populous countries has not wholly proceeded from that unjuſt traffick called the ſlave-trade, which is carried on by the *Europeans*, *Americans*, *&c.* - - - - 6th. Whether this trade and this only was not the primary cauſe, and ſtill continues to be the chief cauſe of

these eternal and inceſſant broils, quarrels, and animoſities which ſubſiſt between the Negro Princes and Chiefs; and conſequently of thoſe endleſs wars which abide among them, and which they are induced to carry on in order to make priſoners of one another for the ſake of the ſlave-trade?----- 7th. "Whether, if trade was carried on with them for a ſeries of years, as it has been with moſt other ſavage countries, and the *Europeans* gave no incouragement whatever to the ſlave-trade, thoſe cruel wars among the blacks would not ceaſe, and a fair and honourable commerce in time take place throughout the whole country?---- 8th. "Whether the example of the *Dutch* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, who have civilized innumerable of the natives, and brought them to the *European* way of cloathing, *&c.* does not give reaſonable hopes that theſe ſuggeſtions are not viſionary, but founded on experience as well as on humane and chriſtian principles?--- 9th. "Whether commerce in general has not proved the great means of civilizing all nations, even the moſt ſavage and brutal; and why not the *Africans*?----10th. "Whether the territory of the *European* nations who are intereſted in the colonies

and plantations in *America*, are not populous enough, or may be rendered ſo, by proper encouragement given to matrimony and the breed of foundling infants, to ſupply their reſpective colonies with labourers in the place of Negro ſlaves? And---- laſtly, "Whether the *Britiſh* dominions in general have not an extent of territory ſufficient to increaſe and multiply their inhabitants; and whether it is not their own faults that they do not increaſe them ſufficiently to ſupply their colonies and plantations, with whites inſtead of blacks?"

I WOULD add one neceſſary query more, to thoſe who hold the ſword of juſtice, and who muſt account to GOD for the uſe they make of it. Since the *Engliſh* law is ſo truly valuable for its juſtice, how can they overlook the barbarous deaths, and wrongful ſlavery of the unhappy *Africans*, without trial or proof of being guilty of crimes adequate to their puniſhments? Why are thoſe maſters of veſſels (who are not the moſt conſiderate of men) ſuffered to be ſovereign arbiters of the lives of theſe miſerable Negroes in their paſſage, and allowed with impunity to deſtroy, may I not ſay murder their fellow creatures in a manner ſo cruel as can never be related

but with horror? Anſwer me this, ye Judges and Governors in the different colonies where ſuch practices are uſed, if you can, and not be ſhocked at your negligence: There are thouſands of poor *Europeans* that would be glad to ſerve in any of the *Britiſh* plantations at leſs expence to the planter than ſlaves; employing them would be attended with this advantage, that when they have ſerved ſome years in the loweſt capacities they would turn out upon the waſte land, marry, and in a few years we might ſee a town well ſettled, and in leſs than fifty there will be an increaſe of forty fold; by this means the country will become reſpectable and ſecure from an enemy, and furniſhed with every conveniency of life.

In order to put this trade to *Africa* on a juſt and lawful footing, If I may be allowed to give my opinion there ſhould be a number of men (who may chuſe to venture in this trade, both in *Britain* and the colonies) incorporated into ſeparate bodies by the name of *Engliſh*, or *Britiſh*; *American* or *New-England African* companies, or by the denomination of other provinces in *America*, or plantations in the *Weſt Indies*; and theſe companies ſhall equip and rig

out as many veſſels as they think proper, loading them with *Britiſh, America, Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* goods, and bring back in return, the rich produce of *Africa*; then *Britain* and the colonies will flouriſh by ſo great and profitable a commerce, in furniſhing a hundred thouſand people annually, more than are at preſent with cloathing, powder, ſhot, and warlike arms, and many more things needleſs here to enumerate out of England; rum, and ſundry other articles out of *America* and the *Weſt-Indies*.

INFINE, I beg you who are concerned in this trade, to free yourſelves from a cuſtom which is ſo pernicious to your welfare here and hereafter; and as moſt men have objections to this baſe trade, you ought to vindicate yourſelves to the world, upon principles of reaſon, honeſty and humanity; I believe you will be at a loſs to make this juſtification but upon motives weak and unreaſonable; therefore I think *you ſhould forever lay it aſide*, for *there ſhould be no trade carried on, but ſuch as is juſtifiable before* GOD *and man*, but this is in direct oppoſition to both. Think of a future rekoning, and what reaſons you will be able to produce at the great day. You now accumulate riches and live in pleaſure; but what will you do in

the end? what if you ſhonld be hurried out of this world under the vaſt load of blood guiltineſs that is now lying upon you? being the primary cauſe of killing thouſands in the wars and broils of the *African* Chiefs, to obtain your number to enſlave? and no leſs have been murdered in the paſſage, when they were trying to retrieve the liberties which they had in their own country, and which you unjuſtly take from them. Remember that at the ſame time and by the ſame means you are treaſuring up worldly riches, you are treaſuring up wrath againſt the day of anger and vengeance that ſhall come upon the workers of iniquity, unleſs they repent. How can you pray for mercy or hope for favor from him that made you, while you go on thus boldly and publickly diſhonoring him, in deſtroying the nobleſt workmanſhip of his hands? Can you think that GOD will hear your prayers, while you act thus groſsly and openly againſt his divine revealed will? And do you ſuppoſe that he who is the father of all men, will not avenge the mal-treatment of his offspring whom he gave his ſon for, *that they ſhould not periſh but have everlaſting life*? If GOD regards us with ſo great affection, we ought alſo to love one another.

REFLECT for a moment upon the nature of this vile and deteſtable man-trade, and your hearts muſt certainly relent, if you have not loſt all ſenſe of benevolence and compaſſion towards thoſe of your brethren who have capacities, underſtandings and ſouls, and who were born to inherit the ſame ſalvation with you; I ſay, if you are not deſtitute of every chriſtian, humane and manly ſenſibility, you certainly muſt feel for thoſe oppreſſed people, when you conſider what miſeries, devaſtations and maſſacres among them you have been the authors of. The thought of this accurſed trade touches my very heart, and finding if I continue any longer ſhall get out of the bounds of decency, muſt therefore conclude. And if all that has been mentioned ſhould have no weight upon you, this remains for my conſolation that I have done my duty; GOD grant that you may be ſenſible of your guilt and repent of theſe your execrable and really deteſtable deeds.

FINIS.

7 AP 64

FINIS